

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, UN, SC, SF, WA

SUBJECT:ACTION MEMORANDUM - DRAFT US STATEMENT ON NAMIBIA

(S/S NO. 7511148)

FOR SISCO FROM BUFFUM

1. THE PROBLEM

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SPEECH WHICH, SUBJECT TO ANY VIEWS YOU MAY HAVE, SCALI WOULD GIVE IN SC DEBATE ON NAMIBIA TUESDAY AFTERNOON, JUNE 3. SPEECH HAS BEEN CLEARED BY AF AND L.

2. DRAFT STATEMENT ON NAMIBIA

IT HAS LONG BEEN APPARENT THAT THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE FUTURE OF NAMIBIA REVOLVE AROUND: (A) WHETHER THERE IS A COMMITMENT BY SOUTH AFRICA TO A COURSE OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA, AND TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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RESPECT FOR THEIR RIGHTS; (B) TIMING OF STEPS TOWARD SELF-DETERMINATION ONCE THAT PRINCIPLE IS ACCEPTED BY SOUTH AFRICA; (C) THE QUESTION WHETHER ALL NAMIBIANS, OF WHATEVER COLOR, POLITICAL AFFILIATION, OR SOCIAL ORIGIN, WOULD HAVE

THEIR VOICE IN DETERMINING THE FUTURE OF THE TERRITORY; AND
(D) THE UN ROLE IN THE PROCESS OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF ALL
THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA.

LAST DECEMBER THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTED SECURITY COUNCIL
RESOLUTION 366 IN THE BELIEF THAT THE TEXT, THOUGH
IMPERFECT IN CERTAIN WAYS, ADEQUATELY REFLECTED OUR VIEW
THAT SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD ACT QUICKLY AND POSITIVELY TO END
ITS ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA. WE BELIEVE, MOREOVER,
THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL RIGHTFULLY PLACED ITS VIEWS AND
RECOMMENDATIONS BEFORE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND
URGED IT TO MOVE PROMPTLY ALONG THE LINES INDICATED.

DURING THE LAST SIX MONTHS, THERE HAS BEEN SOME FORWARD
MOVEMENT IN THE NAMIBIAN SITUATION, BUT NOT ENOUGH. IT IS
CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT REGARDLESS OF HOW DISAPPOINTED WE ARE
AT THE PACE OF STEPS TOWARD GENUINE SELF-DETERMINATION, IT
CANNOT BE SAID THERE IS A CLEAR THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL
PEACE AND SECURITY, AS SET OUT IN THE CHARTER IN NAMIBIA
AT THIS TIME.

IN THAT REGARD WE HEAR SUGGESTIONS FOR AN ARMS EMBARGO.
THE RECORD OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN THAT REGARD
IS ONE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN BE PROUD OF. FOR 12
YEARS THE US GOVERNMENT HAS VOLUNTARILY REFUSED TO ALLOW
SHIPMENTS OF AMERICAN ARMS AND MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO
SOUTH AFRICA. OUR GOVERNMENT HAS DONE THIS AS A MATTER OF
PRINCIPLE. THUS WE NEED NO INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL TO SEEK
TO FORCE US TO DO WHAT WE ALREADY ARE DOING OUT OF
CONVICTION. IF OTHERS WISH, THEY CAN JOIN US IN SUCH A
VOLUNTARY POLICY.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT MADE PUBLIC ITS POSITION ON
NAMIBIA IN A LETTER FROM FOREIGN MINISTER MULLER TO
SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM ON MAY 27. IN THIS LETTER, THE
SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER RESTATED MANY POSITIONS
ALREADY PUT FORWARD BY HIS GOVERNMENT.

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MY DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S OFFER TO RESUME
A DIALOGUE WITH A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UN SECRETARY
GENERAL AND TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS WITH AFRICAN LEADERS,
WITH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE UN COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA AND WITH
THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY
SHOULD BE EXPLORED. NOTWITHSTANDING PAST DIFFICULTIES IN
CONDUCTING SUCH DIALOGUES AND THE RESTRICTIVE TERMS OF
SOUTH AFRICA'S PRESENT OFFER, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT EFFORTS
BE MADE TO DETERMINE WHETHER IN FACT A GENUINE DISCUSSION
CAN BE INITIATED IN THESE CHANNELS.

WE ALSO NOTE THAT THE LETTER OF MAY 27, IN DISCUSSING THE

FUTURE OF THE TERRITORY, STATES THAT ALL OPTIONS, INCLUDING "INDEPENDENCE AS ONE STATE" ARE OPEN TO THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA. WE HAVE ALSO NOTED THAT THIS LETTER REITERATES

SOUTH AFRICA'S RECOGNITION OF THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF THE TERRITORY AND STATES THAT IT IS THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S WISH THAT A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE TAKE PLACE IN AS SHORT A TIME AS POSSIBLE.

MR. MULLER'S WORDS GO SOMEWHAT BEYOND THE ASSURANCES HE GAVE THE SECRETARY GENERAL IN APRIL 1973. THEY MAY REFLECT A MORE REALISTIC APPRAISAL OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. AMBIGUITIES REMAIN AND SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD PROVIDE CLARIFICATIONS OF ITS INTENT. WE WISH TO KNOW MORE EXACTLY WHEN AND IN WHAT MANNER THE PLANNED CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION WILL BE CONDUCTED AND WHO EXACTLY WILL PARTICIPATE.

DURING THE COUNCIL'S DEBATE ON DECEMBER 17, 1974 I STATED UNEQUIVOCALLY THAT PRECISION AND DETAIL IN SOUTH AFRICAN PLANNING FOR NAMIBIA'S FUTURE, COUPLED WITH POSITIVE ACTION, ARE CALLED FOR HERE, ARE CALLED FOR TO ENSURE A PEACEFUL AND REALISTIC SETTLEMENT OF THE TERRITORY'S FUTURE. MR. MULLER'S MOST RECENT STATEMENTS MAY GIVE REASON FOR HOPE THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL ALLOW A TRULY FAIR EXERCISE OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN NAMIBIA. IT IS FOR SOUTH AFRICA NOW TO MOVE FROM GENERAL STATEMENTS OF PURPOSE TO SPECIFIC IMPLEMENTING ACTION. CAN SOUTH AFRICA LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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BE IN ANY DOUBT THAT IT IS THE DESIRE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THAT THE STEPS TO DEFINE NAMIBIA'S SEPARATE STATUS AND THE TIMETABLE FOR CARRYING THEM OUT BE STATED IN UNAMBIGUOUS TERMS.

AT ITS MEETING IN DAR-ES-SALAAM IN APRIL, THE OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS REVIEWED THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA AND ADOPTED A COMPREHENSIVE DECLARATION ON THE TERRITORY AIMED AT OVERCOMING SOUTH AFRICA'S RECALCITRANCE. MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, HAVE ALSO BEEN ACTIVE IN SEEKING TO ENCOURAGE SOUTH AFRICA TO MOVE FORWARD DECISIVELY IN NAMIBIA TO ALLOW THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS FREELY ON THE POLITICAL FUTURE AND CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE TERRITORY.

THE UNITED NATIONS, AND THIS COUNCIL ESPECIALLY, HAVE A UNIQUE AND GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR NAMIBIA AND ITS FUTURE. SOUTH AFRICA HAS NOW GIVEN US SOME REASON TO EXPECT THAT IT ACKNOWLEDGES THE INTEREST OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN NAMIBIA EVEN THOUGH IT STILL REJECTS UN PARTICIPATION IN THEPROCESS OF ACHIEVING SELF-DETERMINATION FOR

NAMIBIA. WE OFFER TO SOUTH AFRICA AGAIN THE CONSIDERED VIEW THAT WITHOUT A ROLE FOR THE UN IN THE SELF-DETERMINATION PROCESS, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CANNOT JUDGE PROGRESS AND THEREFORE CANNOT BE SATISFIED THAT THE

PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA WILL BE ABLE TO EXERCISE A DEMOCRATIC CHOICE AS TO THEIR FUTURE.

THE UNITED STATES FOR ITS PART REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE VIEW (A) THAT ALL THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA SHOULD WITHIN A SHORT TIME BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS FREELY AND UNDER UN SUPERVISION ON THE POLITICAL FUTURE AND AND CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE TERRITORY; (B) THAT ALL NAMIBIAN POLITICAL GROUPS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO CAMPAIGN FOR THEIR VIEWS AND TO PARTICIPATE WITHOUT HINDRANCE IN PEACEFUL POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE COURSE OF THE PROCESS OF SELF-DETERMINATION; (C) THAT THE TERRITORY SHOULD NOT BE SPLIT UP IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE POLICY OF APARTHEID, AND (D) THAT THE FUTURE OF NAMIBIA SHOULD BE DETERMINED BY THE FREELY EXPRESSED CHOICE OF ITS INHABITANTS.

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AS WE CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR THESE GOALS, THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO ADHERE TO ITS PRESENT POLICY WITH REGARD TO THE TERRITORY. WE WILL CONTINUE TO DISCOURAGE UNITED STATES INVESTMENT IN NAMIBIA AND TO DENY EXPORT-IMPORT GUARANTEES AND OTHER FACILITIES FOR TRADE WITH NAMIBIA. WE WILL CONTINUE TO WITHHOLD UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PROTECTION OF UNITED STATES INVESTMENTS, MADE ON THE BASIS OF RIGHTS ACQUIRED THROUGH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AFTER 1966, AGAINST THE CLAIMS OF A FUTURE LAWFUL GOVERNMENT OF NAMIBIA. THIS POLICY REFLECTS OUR STRONGLY HELD BELIEF THAT SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD ACT IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE TO END ITS ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE OBLIGATION OF THIS COUNCIL IS TO FOSTER A PEACEFUL AND JUST SETTLEMENT. OUR AGREED GOAL IS THE EXERCISE BY THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA OF THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION. AS A RESPONSIBLE DELIBERATIVE BODY, IT IS THE DUTY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO ENCOURAGE ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED AND TO EXPLORE EVERY POSSIBLE OPPORTUNITY FOR LAUNCHING THE PROCESS OF TIMELY SELF-DETERMINATION.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO RULE THAT A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY EXISTS WITHIN THE MEANING OF THE CHARTER. THE PARTY ALLEGEDLY CAUSING THE THREAT HAS AGREED ON SOME OF THE OBJECTIVES DESIRED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND HAS OFFERED TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THE MEANS OF ACHIEVING THEM. THIS CLEARLY DOES NOT ADD UP TO A CRISIS, PEACE-AND-WAR SITUATION AT THIS TIME. THUS, IN OUR VIEW, IT WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE TO INVOKE MANDATORY

SANCTIONS WHICH SPECIFICALLY ARE RESERVED FOR THE MOST
DIRE THREATS TO THE PEACE. WE BELIEVE THE COUNCIL SHOULD
ENCOURAGE SOUTH AFRICA, IN COLLABORATION WITH AFRICAN

STATES, TO GIVE EVERY EFFECT TO ITS WORDS, TO GIVE FIRM
ASSURANCES ABOUT PROBLEMS ON WHICH IT HAS NOT YET
DECLARED ITS POSITION, AND TO MOVE FORWARD WITH DISPATCH
TOWARD A NEW POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

END TEXT.

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3. RECOMMENDATION

THAT YOU APPROVE THE ABOVE TEXT.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

CLEARED BY L:SSCHWEBEL AND AF:NDAVIS. INGERSOLL

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